Pulcheria

(25 August 450 – July 453)

BRIEFING

Aelia Pulcheria (/ˈiːliə pʌlˈkɪriə/; Ancient Greek: Πουλχερία; 19 January 398 or 399 – 453) was an Eastern Roman empress who advised her brother, the emperor Theodosius II, during his minority and then became wife to emperor Marcian from November 450 to her death in 453.

She was the second (and oldest surviving) child of Eastern Roman Emperor Arcadius and Empress Aelia Eudoxia. In 414, the fifteen-year old Pulcheria became the guardian of her younger brother Theodosius II and was also proclaimed Augusta. Through her religious devotion and involvement in the contemporary ecclesiastical scene, Pulcheria had significant, though changing, influence during her brother's reign. After Theodosius II died on 26 July 450, Pulcheria married Marcian on 25 November 450, while simultaneously not violating her vow of virginity. She died three years later, in July 453.

Pulcheria influenced the Christian Church and its theological development by being involved in the Council of Ephesus and guiding the Council of Chalcedon, in which the Church ruled on christological issues. The Catholic Church and the Eastern Orthodox Church subsequently recognized her as a saint.

EARLY LIFE

Pulcheria was born into the Theodosian dynasty, whose Eastern branch in the later Roman Empire ruled from Constantinople. Her parents were the eastern Roman emperor Arcadius and empress Aelia Eudoxia. Pulcheria's older sister, Flaccilla, was born in 397 but probably died young. Her younger siblings were Arcadia (born in 400), the future emperor Theodosius II (born in 401), and Marina (born in 401).

Arcadius' reign experienced a conflict between his wife and the Archbishop of Constantinople John Chrysostom. Sozomen reports that much of the rivalry was based on a silver statue of Eudoxia set up outside the cathedral of Constantinople, Hagia Sophia, which Chrysostom condemned: "The silver statue of the empress … was placed upon a column of porphyry; and the event was celebrated by loud acclamations, dancing, games, and other manifestations of public rejoicing … John declared that these proceedings reflected dishonor on the [C]hurch." Also according to Sozomen, Chrysostom had condemned the empress for her grandiose style in his sermons, which enraged her and resulted in Chrysostom's immediate deposition. Later in life, Pulcheria returned the relics of John Chrysostom and installed them for the church, in gratitude for his pious life.

Eudoxia died in 404, and Arcadius in 408. They left behind four young children, including Theodosius II, then 7 years of age, who had been his father's nominal co-emperor since 402 and was now sole emperor. The praetorian prefect Anthemius at first led government affairs. The imperial chamberlain Antiochus educated Theodosius, but upon reaching adulthood the emperor dismissed him from office.

AUGUSTA

On 4 July 414, Pulcheria took a vow of virginity and was proclaimed *Augusta*. From then on until Theodosius' adulthood, Pulcheria began to act as her brother and his government's guardian. Pulcheria was highly esteemed at court. In the Byzantine Senate a bust of her was erected, along with those of other *augusti*. Pulcheria was a *deo coronata* and possessed *basileia*. When she took the vow of virginity in 414, her sisters followed her example. This was to deter potential suitors. Sozomen explains that:

> *She devoted her virginity to God, and instructed her sisters to do likewise. To avoid cause of scandal and opportunities for intrigue, she permitted no man to enter her palace. In confirmation of her resolution she took God, the priests, and all the subjects of the Roman empire as witnesses...*

It is possible that Pulcheria may have had another motive to remain unmarried, as she would have had to relinquish her power to a potential husband. In addition, the husbands of Pulcheria and her sisters could have wielded overbearing influence on their young brother, or even posed a threat to him.

Increasingly, the imperial palace assumed a monastic tone more so than the previous regime. Sozomen describes the pious ways of Pulcheria and her sisters in his *Ecclesiastical History*:

> *They all pursue the same mode of life; they are sedulous in their attendance in the house of prayer, and evince great charity towards strangers and the poor…and pass their days and their nights together in singing the praises of God.*

Rituals within the imperial palace included chanting and reciting passages of sacred scripture and fasting twice per week. The sisters relinquished luxurious jewelry and apparel, which most women of the imperial court wore.

Pulcheria provided many instructions necessary for Theodosius to be a successful emperor when he would come of age. According to Sozomen, Pulcheria's training of Theodosius included good deportment, manner of speech, horsemanship, and how to don clothes. However, as adult, Theodosius was accused by some historians of providing lackluster leadership.

Philostorgius says she handled imperial rescripts for her brother during his minority. Sozomen states that not only did Pulcheria train her brother in the duties and customs of imperial office but governed the state until her brother reached adulthood. This claim is taken seriously by some modern historians, while other historians argue that it was the collective advisory body, rather than Pulcheria, that directed the government.

Pulcheria's most visible influence on state policy came during the ecumenical council held at Ephesus in the summer of 431. Trying to settle once and for all christological issues surrounding God's nature, the council condemned the Nestorian controversy, which had presumed that Christ had two separate persons -- one human, one divine -- in his incarnation. Pulcheria engineered opposition against Nestorius (who was the patriarch of Constantinople at the time), not so much because of his objection to the Nicene creed, but because of his rejection of the increasingly important Mother of God (Theotokos) movement. Nicaea was upheld, Nestorius was deposed and exiled, and Nestorianism was declared heresy. Pulcheria had used Cyril of Alexandria and other bishops to gain control of the religious debate in the capital and the eastern Empire.

In other areas of government, Pulcheria's hand rested more lightly. Military affairs and administrative changes were for the most part left to the experts. Helion, for example, was made Master of Offices (*magister officiorum*) and held the post for thirteen years. Nevertheless, even after the emperor's majority, the Augusta's presence was always felt: we know little of Helion's magistracy other than he seems to have been a competent minister. Nor did her power ebb after her brother's death: it was Pulcheria, after all, who lent legitimacy through marriage to Theodosius' successor, **Marcian**. The only real threat to her dominance over Theodosius came in the person of the emperor's wife. Aelia Eudocia had at first tried to build a faction of loyal officials around her, including her uncle Asclepiodotus, and sought to pursue more moderate religious policies. She also apparently bore the emperor three children, although only **Licinia Eudoxia** survived. But such power proved transitory and slowly Pulcheria came back to the fore with her persecution of the Nestorians. The marriage of **Licinia** to **Valentinian III** in 437 only reinforced the struggle: Pulcheria gained by virtue of her own Theodosian blood, but Eudocia also gained as mother of the bride.

In the late 430s, the two struggled directly for dominance over the emperor's favor. As with Pulcheria's rise to power, the augustae chose the religious sphere to assert their control. The emperor's sister oversaw the return of John Chrysostom's relics to Constantinople and lobbied for the passage of new strict anti-pagan and anti-Jewish legislation. As a means of reasserting her own standing, Eudocia went to the Holy Land on pilgrimage with the famous ascetic, Melania the Younger, and returned in 439 with important relics and enormous prestige. With the help of the sword-bearer (spatharius), Chrysaphius, she sought to have Pulcheria removed from court. While this plot had some limited success, the eunuch soon turned on Eudocia and engineered her fall through rumors of adultery. Theodosius' wife once again left the capital, this time permanently. In the late 440s, she eventually took up the monophysitic cause. Thus, Pulcheria may have won the struggle, bust she had lost the prize: Theodosius was no longer under her influence.

Pulcheria's time as *Augusta* also was marked by war and ongoing conflict with Sassanid Persia. The imperial court called for war against Persia when the Persian king Yazdegerd I executed a Christian bishop who had destroyed a Zoroastrian altar. Theodosius sent troops into battle, described by Socrates as "ready to do anything for the sake of Christianity." Though the war was inconclusive, a surviving inscription declares that Theodosius was able to conquer through his sisters' vows of virginity. Theodosius thus made his sister's virginity a tool of war propaganda, and because of her vow to be faithful only to God, the hand of God would help Roman troops in battle against Persia.

ROMAN – SASSANIAN WAR OF 421 - 422

The Roman–Sasanian war of 421–422 was a conflict between the Eastern Roman Empire and the Sasanians. The casus belli was the persecution of Christians by the Sasanian king Bahram V, which had come as a response to attacks by Christians against Zoroastrian temples;[a] the Christian Eastern Roman Emperor Theodosius II declared war and obtained some victories, but in the end, the two powers agreed to sign a peace on the status quo ante.

In 421, Bahram V succeeded his father Yazdegerd I, who shortly before he had been killed, began a persecution of Christians as reprisal for attacks against Zoroastrian temples by Christians during his reign; Bahram continued this persecution, during which many died. Among them was James Intercisus, a political counsellor of Yazdegerd's, who had converted to Zoroastrianism but then converted back to Christianity.

The persecuted Christians fled to Roman territory and were welcomed by the bishop of Constantinople, Atticus, who informed the Emperor of the persecution. The Eastern Roman Emperor Theodosius II was at the time deeply influenced by his religious sister Pulcheria, and had become more and more interested in Christianity. The Roman-Sasanian relationship already had some friction. The Persians had hired some Roman gold-diggers, but now refused to send them back; furthermore, the Sasanians seized the properties of Roman merchants.

For these reasons, when the Persian ambassadors reached the Roman court to demand the return of the fugitives, Theodosius chose to break the peace and declare war, rather than giving them back.

The commander-in-chief of the Roman army was Ardabur, who, incidentally, came from the Iranian tribe of the Alans. Ardabur needed to collect many troops for his campaign. Theodosius, therefore, allowed some Pannonian Ostrogoths to settle in Thracia, to defend the province from the Huns while the Thracian Roman troops were sent to the East.

Ardabur sent Anatolius to Persarmenia, where he joined the rebels, while Ardabur entered Persian territory and devastated Arzanene. The general of the Sasanian army, Narses, engaged Ardabur in battle, but was defeated and forced to retreat. Narses planned to attack Mesopotamia, a Roman province that had been left unguarded, and moved there, but Ardabur foresaw his enemy's plan and intercepted him there.

Ardabur received reinforcements and put the fortress of Nisibis under siege. Bahram allied with the Lakhmid Arabs of Alamundarus (Al-Mundhir I of Hirah), who, however, were dispersed by the Romans. In the meantime, the King of the Huns, Rua, had attacked the dioceses of Dacia and Thracia and had even menaced Constantinople; at the same time, a large Persian army moved towards Nisibis. To avoid a war on two fronts, Theodosius then recalled Ardabur.

According to a Roman ecclesiastical source, the Sasanian besieged Theodosiopolis for 30 days, with thousands of soldiers and even siege engines (that the source calls helepolis). According to this source, the Romans did not try to aid the besieged, but the Sasanians were convinced to lift the siege when the bishop of the city, Eunomius, had a stone-thrower, named after Thomas the Apostle, kill a lesser king of the Sasanian army.

Despite the evident religious theme of this account, the passage is important as it testifies to an unsuccessful Sasanian attack on Theodosiopolis. This could be the Theodosiopolis in Armenia, and in this case the siege should be dated to 421, while Narses was in Mesopotamia, or Theodosiopolis in Osroene, and in this case the attack should be dated after the Roman retreat from Nisibis.

The peace treaty that ended the war (422) was negotiated by the magister officiorum Helio. It returned everything to the situation before the war (status quo ante bellum). Both parties agreed to reject Arab defectors of the other party, as well as to guarantee liberty of religion in their territories. The war has been called a Roman victory by Michael J. Decker, while other historians call the war a stalemate.

It is related that Acacius, bishop of Amida, had the consecrated gold and silver plate of his church melted down, to procure a sum sufficient to buy 7,000 Persian captives who had wound up in the slave market in consequence of the war, whom he then sent back in freedom to their homeland, as a gesture of Christian generosity to the Persian persecutors. If the story is true, Gibbon remarks, this will have facilitated the conclusion of peace.

RELATIONSHIP WITH AELIA EUDOCIA

Nor was the east's support strictly symbolic. On two occasions, Theodosius sent large forces to aid the west against Vandal incursions. The first was an army in 431, led by Ardabur's son, Aspar, in an attempt to stop King Gaeseric's advance into the African provinces. Along with the count of Africa, Boniface, Roman forces were badly beaten and retreated to Carthage. The defeat emboldened the Vandals to take most of the rest of North Africa by 439.

Gaeseric's successes led to attacks on Sicily and the Italian coast. They laid siege to Palermo and may have taken Lilybaeum. Theodosius once again sent a large naval force against the Vandals in 441, with several initial successes. But perhaps through Gaeseric's diplomacy, the Persians chose at this time to attack Rome's eastern borders. Attila, too, saw the opportunity for aggression. Theodosius was forced to conclude a hasty treaty in 442. The agreement recognized the Vandals' holdings as a separate, independent kingdom in formerly Roman territory. This was symbolically a significant event: before this time, Germanic peoples had accepted settlement in Roman territory as official allies (foederati) of the empire. The treaty made manifest to all that Rome was no longer master of its own domain.

In all these dealings, Theodosius and his ministers did the best they could to deal with a series of crises happening throughout Europe and western Asia. The eastern half of the Roman Empire was able to weather them, the west was not. In sum, to survive, the government in Constantinople was forced to redefine its place in the world.

WIFE OF MARCIAN

While hunting on horseback in 450, Theodosius II fell from his horse and injured his spine; he died two days later. What exactly happened in government during the interregnum is unclear. It is speculated by some historians that Pulcheria reigned over the empire alone for about one month after the death of Theodosius, which may have primarily consisted of arranging the public funeral of Theodosius, while another theory believes that the government was under tense negotiations between different parties. As the deceased emperor lacked surviving male children, Pulcheria could bestow dynastic legitimacy on an outsider by marrying him. She honoured her vow of virginity despite entering a legitimate marriage. Allying with the prominent general Aspar, she married Marcian, a tribune and close associate of Aspar. Marcian's origins were of low status in comparison to those of previous emperors but he was a Roman, which made him eligible for the throne. One condition of the marriage was that Marcian obey and respect Pulcheria's vow of virginity, which he did. In order for the marriage to not seem scandalous to the Roman state, the church proclaimed that "Christ himself sponsored the union and it therefore should not provoke shock or unjustified suspicions." Marcian ascended the throne on 25 August 450. After their marriage, Pulcheria and Marcian had Chrysaphius killed.

ECCLESIASTICAL POLICY

Pulcheria was influential in ecclesiastical policies. In a letter from Pope Leo I, a contemporary of Pulcheria, he complimented her great piety and despisal of the errors of heretics.

Pulcheria and Theodosius potentially held anti-Jewish sentiments, which may have contributed to laws against Jewish worship in the capital. Before the reign of Theodosius II, synagogues were treated as private property and protected by the imperial government. Theodosius enacted a law that forbade the construction of synagogues and required the destruction of those in existence. Theodosius also ordered the execution of a group of Jews after strife among Christians emerged in Palestine.

Pulcheria was famous for her philanthropy. According to Sozomen, she erected many churches and buildings for the poor in and around Constantinople. Pulcheria's building projects in Constantinople were so vast that the eleventh region of the city was named the *Pulcherianai*. As well as contributing new churches and districts to the city, Pulcheria contributed significantly to the Christian Church by reinstating bishops who were dismissed and returning the remains of others, such as Flavian, as relics of the church.

First Council of Ephesus

The First Council of Ephesus, held in 431 in Theodosius's reign, involved two rival bishops: Nestorius, who was Archbishop of Constantinople, and Cyril, the Patriarch of Alexandria. The dispute grew from their disagreement over the nature of Christ.

Nestorius advocated diminishing the influence of the doctrine of the "Theotokos", i.e. "Mother of God", in the church. This conflicted with the religious beliefs of Pulcheria, as she was a virgin empress, and a rivalry between them ensued, during which Nestorius launched a smear campaign against her. Nestorius also tried to remove Pulcheria's image and her altar cloth from the altar, against her wishes. However, Pulcheria and her allies, including Eusebius of Dorylaeum, struck back by launching a campaign against Nestorius. Meanwhile, Cyril had already publicly condemned Nestorius and wrote to the imperial court stating that the doctrine of the "Theotokos" was correct. Theodosius and his advisors decided to hold a council, thereby allowing Nestorius an opportunity to vindicate himself.

However, the Council, teeming with Cyril's allies, condemned Nestorius' position. Nestorians, who were unable to take part in the previous council, held their own council to denounce Cyril. The emperor first tried to find a middle ground but eventually favored Cyril. The title of "Theotokos" was decreed as orthodox. He also deposed Nestorius and banished him to a monastery in Antioch. Thus, Pulcheria's campaign against Nestorius was successful, but ecclesiastical controversies did not stop there.

Second Council of Ephesus

In 449, Christological debates flared up again. Theodosius summoned another council to Ephesus to resolve the disputes. At this council, Pope Leo I was the primary advocate for Pulcheria's claims of the doctrine, and he "…forcefully intervened, sending a Tome, a long letter, to Archbishop Flavian of Constantinople, in which he argued for the two natures, but questioned the legality of the recent condemnation of a certain Eutyches for denying them. At this the party of Dioscorus, Cyril's successor in Alexandria was able to overturn the situation, whereupon Leo asked for a second council, calling that [council in] Ephesus the *Robber Council*."

During this council, Flavian was beaten and died from his injuries. He was later declared a saint and martyr.

Council of Chalcedon

Two years later, Pulcheria and Marcian summoned the Council of Chalcedon, attended by 452 bishops. It condemned the doctrines of both Nestorius and Eutyches, developed the doctrines of Cyril and Pope Leo I into one, and it declared the doctrine of the "Theotokos" orthodox. It also reversed the decision of the second Council of Ephesus and denounced it as 'Robber Council'. According to historian Averil Cameron, the Council of Chalcedon "…developed and clarified the creed of Nicaea, according to which God was Father, Son and Holy Spirit, by further proclaiming that Christ was at all times after the Incarnation fully God and fully human." Pulcheria and Marcian were both hailed as the "new Constantine" and "new Helena" at the council. From this council grew an irreconcilable gulf between Chalcedonians, those who upheld the council's decision, and Miaphysites, who opposed it.

Pulcheria devoted the last years of her life to the "Theotokos", and had three churches in Constantinople dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary: the Monastery of the Panagia Hodegetria, the Church of St. Mary of Blachernae, and the Chalkoprateia.

FIRST COUNCIL OF EPHESUS

The Council of Ephesus was a council of Christian bishops convened in Ephesus (near present-day Selçuk in Turkey) in AD 431 by the Roman Emperor Theodosius II. This third ecumenical council, an effort to attain consensus in the church through an assembly representing all of Christendom, confirmed the original Nicene Creed, and condemned the teachings of Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople, who preferred that the Virgin Mary be called *Christotokos*, "Christ-bearer", over *Theotokos*, "God-bearer"; in contrast to Cyril of Alexandria who deemed *Theotokos* to be enough on its own. It met from 22 June to 31 July 431 at the Church of Mary in Ephesus in Anatolia.

Background

Nestorius' doctrine, Nestorianism, which emphasized the distinction between Christ's human and divine natures and argued that Mary should preferably be called *Christotokos* (Christ-bearer) over *Theotokos* (God-bearer), had brought him into conflict with other church leaders, most notably Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria. Nestorius himself had requested the Emperor to convene the council, hoping that it would prove his orthodoxy; the council in fact condemned his teachings as heresy. The council declared Mary as *Theotokos* (Mother of God).

Nestorius' dispute with Cyril had led the latter to seek validation from Pope Celestine I, who offered his support for Cyril to request that Nestorius recant his position or face excommunication. Nestorius pleaded with the Eastern Roman Emperor Theodosius II to call a council in which all grievances could be aired, hoping that he would be vindicated and Cyril condemned.

Approximately 250 bishops were present. The proceedings were conducted in a heated atmosphere of confrontation and recriminations and created severe tensions between Cyril and Theodosius II. Nestorius was decisively outplayed by Cyril and removed from his see, and his teachings were officially anathematized. This precipitated the Nestorian Schism, by which churches supportive of Nestorius, especially in the Persian Empire of the Sassanids, were severed from the rest of Christendom and became known as Nestorian Christianity, or the Church of the East, whose present-day representatives are the Assyrian Church of the East, the Ancient Church of the East, the Chaldean Syrian Church, and the Chaldean Catholic Church (which restored communion with Rome).

History

John McGuckin cites the "innate rivalry" between Alexandria and Constantinople as an important factor in the controversy between Cyril of Alexandria and Nestorius. However, he emphasizes that, as much as political competition contributed to an "overall climate of dissent", the controversy cannot be reduced merely to the level of "personality clashes" or "political antagonisms". According to McGuckin, Cyril viewed the "elevated intellectual argument about Christology" as ultimately one and the same as the "validity and security of the simple Christian life."

Even within Constantinople, some supported the Roman-Alexandrian, and others supported the Nestorian factions. For example, Pulcheria supported the Roman-Alexandrian popes while the emperor and his wife supported Nestorius.

Contention over Nestorius' teachings, which he developed during his studies at the School of Antioch, largely revolved around his rejection of the long-used title *Theotokos* ("Carrier of God") for the Virgin Mary. Shortly after his arrival in Constantinople, Nestorius became involved in the disputes of two theological factions, which differed in their Christology.

McGuckin ascribes Nestorius' importance to his being the representative of the Antiochene (an adjectival form of the word 'Antioch') tradition and characterizes him as a "consistent, if none too clear, exponent of the longstanding Antiochene dogmatic tradition." Nestorius was greatly surprised that what he had always taught in Antioch without any controversy whatsoever should prove to be so objectionable to the Christians of Constantinople. Nestorius emphasized the dual natures of Christ, trying to find a middle ground between those who emphasized the fact that in Christ God had been born as a man, and who insisted on calling the Virgin Mary *Theotokos* (Greek: Θεοτόκος, "God-bearer"), and those that rejected that title because God as an eternal being could not have been born. Nestorius suggested the title *Christotokos* (*Χριστοτόκος*, "Christ-bearer"), but this proposal did not gain acceptance on either side.

Nestorius tried to answer a question considered unsolved: "How can Jesus Christ, being part man, not be partially a sinner as well, since man is by definition a sinner since the Fall?" To solve that he taught that Mary, the mother of Jesus gave birth to the incarnate Christ, not the divine Logos who existed before Mary and indeed before time itself. The Logos occupied the part of the human soul (the part of man that was stained by the Fall). But wouldn't the absence of a human soul make Jesus less human? Nestorius rejected this proposition, answering that, because the human soul was based on the archetype of the Logos, only to become polluted by the Fall, Jesus was "more" human for having the Logos and not "less". Consequently, Nestorius argued that the Virgin Mary should be called *Christotokos*, Greek for "Carrier of Christ", and not only *Theotokos*, Greek for "Carrier of God".

Nestorius believed that no union between the human and divine was possible. If such a union of human and divine occurred, Nestorius believed that Christ could not truly be consubstantial with God and consubstantial with us because he would grow, mature, suffer and die (which Nestorius argued God cannot do) and also would possess the power of God that would separate him from being equal to humans.

According to McGuckin, several mid-twentieth-century accounts have tended to "romanticise" Nestorius; in opposition to this view, he asserts that Nestorius was no less dogmatic and uncompromising than Cyril, and that he was clearly just as prepared to use his political and canonical powers as Cyril or any of the other hierarchs of the period.

Nestorius's opponents charged him with detaching Christ's divinity and humanity into two persons existing in one body, thereby denying the reality of the Incarnation. Eusebius, a layman who later became the bishop of the neighbouring Dorylaeum was the first to accuse Nestorius of heresy, but his most forceful opponent was Patriarch Cyril of Alexandria. Cyril argued that Nestorius's two-nature formula necessarily leads to two Sons.

Cyril appealed to Pope Celestine I of Rome, charging Nestorius with heresy. The Pope agreed and gave Cyril his authority to serve a notice to Nestorius to recant his views within ten days or else be excommunicated. Before acting on the Pope's commission, Cyril convened a synod of Egyptian bishops, which condemned Nestorius as well. Cyril then sent four suffragan bishops to deliver both the Pope's commission as well as the synodal letter of the Egyptian bishops.

Cyril sent a letter to Nestorius known as "The Third Epistle of Saint Cyril to Nestorius." This epistle drew heavily on the established Patristic Constitutions and contained the most famous article of Alexandrian Orthodoxy: "The Twelve Anathemas of Saint Cyril." In these anathemas, Cyril excommunicated anyone who followed the teachings of Nestorius. For example, "Anyone who dares to deny the Holy Virgin the title *Theotokos* is Anathema!" Nestorius, however, still would not repent. McGuckin points out that other representatives of the Antiochene tradition such as John of Antioch, Theodoret and Andrew of Samosata were able to recognize "the point of the argument for Christ's integrity" and concede the "ill-advised nature of Nestorius' immoveability." Concerned at the potential for a negative result at a council, they urged Nestorius to yield and accept the use of the title *Theotokos* when referring to the Virgin Mary.

For example, John of Antioch wrote to Nestorius urging him to submit to the Pope's judgment and cease stirring up controversy over a word that he disliked (Theotokos) but which could be interpreted as having an orthodox meaning especially in light of the fact that many saints and doctors of the church had sanctioned the word by using it themselves. John wrote to Nestorius: "Don't lose your head. Ten days! It will not take you twenty-four hours to give the needed answer.... Ask advice of men you can trust. Ask them to tell you the facts, not just what they think will please you.... You have the whole of the East against you, as well as Egypt." Despite this advice from his colleagues, Nestorius persisted in maintaining the rightness of his position.

On 19 November, Nestorius, anticipating the ultimatum which was about to be delivered, convinced Emperor Theodosius II to summon a general council through which Nestorius hoped to convict Cyril of heresy and thereby vindicate his own teachings. Theodosius issued a Sacra calling for the metropolitan bishops to assemble in the city of Ephesus, which was a special seat for the veneration of Mary, where the *theotokos* formula was popular. Each bishop was to bring only his more eminent suffragans. The date set by the Emperor for the opening of the council was Pentecost (7 June) 431.

McGuckin notes that the vagueness of the Sacra resulted in wide variations of interpretation by different bishops. In particular, the vastness of John of Antioch's ecclesiastical territory required a lengthy period to notify and gather his delegates. Because the overland trip from Antioch to Ephesus was long and arduous, John composed his delegation of his metropolitan bishops, who were restricted to bring no more than two suffragans each. By doing so, he minimized the number who would have to travel to Ephesus. Neither of the emperors attended the council. Theodosius appointed Count Candidian as the head of the imperial palace guard to represent him, to supervise the proceedings of the Council, and to keep good order in the city of Ephesus. Despite Nestorius' agenda of prosecuting Cyril, Theodosius intended for the council to focus strictly on the christological controversy. He thus gave Candidianus strict directions to remain neutral and not to interfere in the theological proceedings. It is generally assumed that Candidian initially maintained his neutrality as instructed by the emperor and only gradually became more biased towards Nestorius. McGuckin, however, suggests that Candidian may have favored Nestorius from the start.

Celestine sent Arcadius and Projectus to represent himself and his Roman council; in addition, he sent the Roman priest, Philip, as his personal representative. Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, was president of the council. Celestine had directed the papal legates not to take part in the discussions but to give judgment on them.

Bishops arrived in Ephesus over a period of several weeks. While waiting for the other bishops to arrive, they engaged in informal discussions characterized as tending to "exasperate rather than heal their differences." The metropolitan of Ephesus, Memnon, was already present with his 52 bishops. Nestorius and his 16 bishops were the first to arrive shortly after Easter. As archbishop of the imperial city of Constantinople, he travelled with a detachment of troops who were under the command of Count Candidian. McGuckin notes that the troops were not there to serve as Nestorius' bodyguard but to support Candidian in his role as the emperor's representative. However, McGuckin theorizes that Candidian's progressive abandonment of neutrality in favor of Nestorius may have created the perception that Candidian's troops were, in fact, there to support Nestorius. Candidian ordered all monks and lay strangers to leave the city; he further instructed the bishops not to leave on any pretext until the council was concluded. Several sources comment that the purpose of this injunction was to prevent bishops from leaving the council to appeal to the emperor directly.

According to McGuckin, Memnon, as bishop of Ephesus, commanded the "fervent and unquestioned loyalty" of the local populace and thus could count on the support of local factions to counterbalance the military might of Candidian's troops. In view of the verdict of Rome against Nestorius, Memnon refused to have communion with Nestorius, closing the churches of Ephesus to him.

Cyril brought with him 50 bishops, arriving only a few days before Pentecost. There were very few bishops representing the West, as the papal representatives would not arrive until July. The Palestinian delegation of 16 bishops and Metropolitan Flavian of Philippi arrived 5 days after the date that had been set for opening the council and aligned themselves with Cyril.

At this point, Cyril announced his intention to open the council; however, Candidian enjoined him from doing so on the grounds that the Roman and Antiochean delegations had not arrived yet. Cyril initially acceded to Candidian's injunction knowing that he could not legally convene a council without the official reading of the Emperor's Sacra.

A number of bishops, who were undecided between Nestorius and Cyril, did not want to give Cyril, as one party in the dispute, the right to chair the meeting and decide the agenda; however, they began to take Cyril's side for various reasons.

Various circumstances, including a detour necessitated by flooding as well as sickness and death of some of the delegates, seriously delayed John of Antioch and his bishops. It was rumored that John might be delaying his arrival in order to avoid participating in a council which was likely to condemn Nestorius as a heretic.

First Session – 22 June 431

Two weeks after the date set for the council, John and the bulk of his Syrian group (42 members) had not yet appeared. At this point, Cyril formally opened the council on Monday, 22 June by enthroning the Gospels in the center of the church as a symbol of Christ's presence among the assembled bishops.

Despite three separate summons, Nestorius refused to acknowledge Cyril's authority to stand in judgment of him and considered the opening of the council before the arrival of the Antiochene contingent as a "flagrant injustice". The 68 bishops who opposed opening

the council entered the church in protest, arriving with Count Candidian who declared that the assembly was illegal and must disperse. He urged Cyril to wait four more days for the Syrian delegation to arrive. However, since even the bishops opposed to opening the council were now present, Cyril maneuvered Candidian by means of a ruse to read out the text of the Emperor's decree of convocation, which the assembly then acclaimed as recognition of its own legality.

When John of Antioch and his Syrian bishops finally reached Ephesus five days after the council, they met with Candidian who informed them that Cyril had begun a council without them and had ratified Celestine's conviction of Nestorius as a heretic. Angered at having undertaken such a long and arduous journey only to have been pre-empted by actions taken by Cyril's council, John and the Syrian bishops held their own Council with Candidian presiding. This council condemned Cyril for espousing the Arian, Apollinarian and Eunomian heresies and condemned Memnon for inciting violence. The bishops at this council deposed both Cyril and Memnon. Initially, the emperor concurred with the actions of John's council but eventually withdrew his concurrence.

Second session – 10 July 431

The second session was held in Memnon's episcopal residence. Philip, as papal legate, opened the proceedings by commenting that the present question regarding Nestorius had already been decided by Pope Celestine as evidenced by his letter, which had been read to the assembled bishops in the first session. He indicated that he had a second letter from Celestine, which was read to the bishops now in attendance. The letter contained a general exhortation to the council, and concluded by saying that the legates had instructions to carry out what the pope had decided on the question and expressed Celestine's confidence that the council would agree. The bishops indicated their approval by acclaiming Celestine and Cyril. Projectus indicated that the papal letter enjoined the council to put into effect the sentence pronounced by Celestine. Firmus, the Exarch of Caesarea in Cappadocia, responded that the pope's sentence had already been carried out in the first session. The session closed with the reading of the pope's letter to the emperor.

Third session – 11 July 431

Having read the Acts of the first session, the papal legates indicated that all that was required was that the council's condemnation of Nestorius be formally read in their presence. When this had been done, the three legates each confirmed the council's actions, signing the Acts of all three sessions. The council sent a letter to Theodosius indicating that the condemnation of Nestorius had been agreed upon not only by the bishops of the East meeting in Ephesus but also of the bishops of the West who had convened at a synod in Rome convened by Celestine. The bishops asked Theodosius to allow them to go home since so many of them suffered from their presence at Ephesus.

Fourth session – 16 July 431

At the fourth session, Cyril and Memnon presented a formal protest against John of Antioch for convening a separate conciliabulum. The council issued a summons for him to appear before them, but he would not even receive the envoys who were sent to serve him the summons.

Fifth session – 17 July 431

The next day, the fifth session was held in the same church. John had set up a placard in the city accusing the synod of the Apollinarian heresy. He was again cited, and this was counted as the third canonical summons. He paid no attention. In consequence, the council suspended and excommunicated him, together with thirty-four bishops of his party, but refrained from deposing them. Some of John's party had already deserted him, and he had gained only a few. In the letters to the emperor and the pope, which were then dispatched, the synod described itself as now consisting of 210 bishops. The long letter to Celestine gave a full account of the council and mentioned that the pope's decrees against the Pelagians had been read and confirmed.

Sixth session – 22 July 431

At this session, the bishops approved Canon 7, which condemned any departure from the creed established by the First Council of Nicaea, in particular an exposition by the priest Charisius. According to a report from Cyril to Celestine, Juvenal of Jerusalem tried and failed to create for himself a patriarchate from the territory of the Antiochene patriarchate in which his see lay. He ultimately succeeded in this goal twenty years later at the Council of Chalcedon.

Seventh session – 31 August 431

At this session, the council approved the claim of the bishops of Cyprus that their see had been anciently and rightly exempt from the jurisdiction of Antioch. The council also passed five canons condemning Nestorius and Caelestius and their followers as heretics and a sixth one decreeing deposition from clerical office or excommunication for those who did not accept the Council's decrees.

Canons and declarations

Eight canons were passed:

- Canon 1–5 condemned Nestorius and Caelestius and their followers as heretics
- Canon 6 decreed deposition from clerical office or excommunication for those who did not accept the Council's decrees
- Canon 7 condemned any departure from the creed established by the First Council of Nicaea (325), in particular an exposition by the priest Charisius.
- Canon 8 condemned interference by the Bishop of Antioch in affairs of the Church in Cyprus and decreed generally, that no bishop was to "assume control of any province which has not heretofore, from the very beginning, been under his own hand or that of his predecessors […] lest the Canons of the Fathers be transgressed".

The Council denounced Nestorius' teaching as erroneous and decreed that Jesus was one person (hypostasis), and not two separate persons, yet possessing both a human and divine nature. The Virgin Mary was to be called Theotokos, a Greek word that means "God-bearer" (the one who gave birth to God).

The Council declared it "unlawful for any man to bring forward, or to write, or to compose a different (ἑτέραν) Faith as a rival to that established by the holy Fathers assembled with the Holy Ghost in Nicæa". It quoted the Nicene Creed as adopted by the First Council of Nicaea in 325, not as added to and modified by the First Council of Constantinople in 381.

Although some scholars, such as Norman Cohn and Peter Toon, have suggested that the Council of Ephesus rejected premillennialism, this is a misconception, and there is no evidence of the Council making any such declaration.

Confirmation of the Council's acts

The bishops at Cyril's council outnumbered those at John of Antioch's council by nearly four to one. In addition, they had the agreement of the papal legates and the support of the population of Ephesus who supported their bishop, Memnon.

However, Count Candidian and his troops supported Nestorius as did Count Irenaeus. The emperor had always been a firm supporter of Nestorius but had been somewhat shaken by the reports of the council. Cyril's group was unable to communicate with the emperor because of interference from supporters of Nestorius both at Constantinople and at Ephesus. Ultimately, a messenger disguised as a beggar was able to carry a letter to Constantinople by hiding it in a hollow cane.[*citation needed*]

Although Emperor Theodosius had long been a staunch supporter of Nestorius, his loyalty seems to have been shaken by the reports from Cyril's council and caused him to arrive at the extraordinary decision to ratify the depositions decreed by both councils. Thus, he declared that Cyril, Memnon, and John were all deposed. Memnon and Cyril were kept in close confinement. But in spite of all the efforts of the Antiochene party, the representatives of the envoys whom the council was eventually allowed to send, with the legate Philip, to the Court, persuaded the emperor to accept Cyril's council as the true one.

Seeing the writing on the wall and anticipating his fate, Nestorius requested permission to retire to his former monastery. The synod was dissolved in the beginning of October, and Cyril arrived back to Alexandria amid much joy on 30 October 431. Pope Celestine had died on 27 July 431, but his successor, Sixtus III, gave papal confirmation to the council's actions.

Aftermath

The events created a major schism between the followers of the different versions of the council, which was only mended by difficult negotiations. The factions that supported John of Antioch acquiesced in the condemnation of Nestorius and, after additional clarifications, accepted the decisions of Cyril's council. However, the rift would open again during the debates leading up to the Council of Chalcedon.

Persia had long been home to a Christian community that had been persecuted by the Zoroastrian majority, which had accused it of Roman leanings. In 424, the Persian Church declared itself independent of the Byzantine and all other churches, in order to ward off allegations of foreign allegiance. Following the Nestorian Schism, the Persian Church increasingly aligned itself with the Nestorians, a measure encouraged by the Zoroastrian ruling class. The Persian Church became increasingly Nestorian in doctrine over the next decades, furthering the divide between Christianity in Persia and in the Roman Empire. In 486 the Metropolitan of Nisibis, Barsauma, publicly accepted Nestorius' mentor, Theodore of Mopsuestia, as a spiritual authority. In 489 when the School of Edessa in Mesopotamia was closed by Byzantine Emperor Zeno for its Nestorian teachings, the school relocated to its original home of Nisibis, becoming again the School of Nisibis, leading to a wave of Nestorian immigration into Persia. The Persian patriarch Mar Babai I (497–502) reiterated and expanded upon the church's esteem for Theodore, solidifying the church's adoption of Nestorianism.

In 1994, the Common Christological Declaration between the Catholic Church and the Assyrian Church of the East marked the resolution of a dispute between those two churches that had existed since the Council of Ephesus. They expressed their common understanding of doctrine concerning the divinity and humanity of Christ, and recognized the legitimacy and rightness of their respective descriptions of Mary as, on the Assyrian side, "the Mother of Christ our God and Saviour", and, on the Catholic side, as "the Mother of God" and also as "the Mother of Christ".

SECOND COUNCIL THE EPHESUS

The **Second Council of Ephesus** was a Christological church synod in 449 convened by Emperor Theodosius II under the presidency of Pope Dioscorus I of Alexandria. It was intended to be an ecumenical council, and it is accepted by the miaphysite churches, who view it as a valid continuation of the First Council of Ephesus if not an ecumenical council in its own right. The Second Council of Ephesus was explicitly repudiated by the next council, the Council of Chalcedon of 451. The Council of Chalcedon is recognized as the fourth ecumenical council by Chalcedonian Christians, and the Second Council of Ephesus was named the *Latrocinium* ("Robber Synod") by Pope Leo I; the Chalcedonian churches, particularly the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox communions, continue to accept this designation, while the Oriental Orthodox repudiate it.

Both this council and that at Chalcedon dealt primarily with Christology, the study of the nature of Christ. Both councils affirmed the doctrine of the hypostatic union and upheld the orthodox Christian doctrine that Jesus Christ is both fully God and fully man. The Second Council of Ephesus decreed the formula of Cyril of Alexandria, stating that Christ is one incarnate nature [*mia physis*] (a qualitative description of the union of divinity and humanity), fully human and fully God, united without separation, without confusion, without mixture and without alteration. The Council of Chalcedon decreed that in Christ two natures exist, "a divine nature [*physis*] and a human nature [*physis*], united in one person [*hypostasis*], with neither division nor confusion".

Those who do not accept the decrees of Chalcedon nor later ecumenical councils are variously named monophysites, miaphysites, or non-Chalcedonians, and comprise what is today known as Oriental Orthodoxy, a communion of six autocephalous ecclesial communions: Coptic Orthodox Church of Alexandria, Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church, Eritrean Orthodox Tewahedo Church, Malankara Orthodox Syrian Church, Syriac Orthodox Church, and the Armenian Apostolic Church. Those who accepted the teaching of Chalcedon but resided in areas dominated by Oriental Orthodox bishops were called by the non-Chalcedonians *Melkites* ("King's men"), as the Emperors were usually Chalcedonians. The Antiochian Orthodox Church historically descends from these people. Shortly after the Council of Chalcedon,Pope Dioscorus was deposed by the Council of Chalcedon but still recognized by Miaphysites until his death in 454 followed by Pope of Alexandria for the miaphysite party in opposition to the Chalcedonian Pope of Alexandria. Over the next few centuries, various popes usually held to either one side or the other although some accepting the Henotikon. Eventually, two separate papacies were established, each claiming sole legitimacy.

Background

Nestorius was Archbishop of Constantinople. His opponents charged him with detaching Christ's divinity and humanity into two persons existing in one body, thereby denying the reality of the Incarnation. It is not clear whether Nestorius actually taught that. A combination of politics and personalities contributed to Nestorius being judged a heretic and deposed at the Council of Ephesus in 431 AD. John Anthony McGuckin sees an "innate rivalry" between the Sees of Alexandria and Constantinople.

Eutyches was an archmandrite in Constantinople. In his opposition to Nestorianism, he seemed to take an equally extreme, although opposite view. In 448, Flavian, Bishop of Constantinople held a synod at which Eusebius, Bishop of Dorylaeum, brought a charge of heresy against Eutyches. Eutyches was summoned to appear and clarify his position regarding the nature of Christ. Finding his response unsatisfactory, the synod condemned and exiled Eutyches, who sent an appeal to Pope Leo I. When Leo had received the Acts of the council, he concluded that Eutyches was a foolish old man who had erred through ignorance, and might be restored if he repented. Dioscurus of Alexandria, imitating his predecessors in assuming a primacy over Constantinople, simply annulled the sentence of Flavian, and absolved Eutyches. Dioscurus and Eutyches had obtained the convocation by the Emperor of an ecumenical council to meet at Ephesus in August, 449.

First session

The Acts by the Second Council of Ephesus are known through a Syriac translation by a monk, that was published by the British Museum (MS. Addit. 14,530) and written in 535. The first session is missing.

There was insufficient time for Western bishops to attend except a certain Julius, Bishop of Puteoli, who, together with a Roman priest, Renatus (who died on the way), and the deacon Hilarius (who later became Pope himself), represented Pope Leo I. The emperor gave Dioscorus of Alexandria the presidency: *ten authentian kai ta proteia* (Greek). The legate Julius is mentioned next, but when his name was read at Chalcedon, the bishops cried: "He was cast out; no one represented Leo". Next in order is Juvenal of Jerusalem, above both the Patriarch Domnus II of Antioch and Patriarch Flavian of Constantinople.

There were 127 bishops present at the council, with eight representatives of absent bishops, and lastly the deacon Hilarius with his notary, Dulcitius. The question before the council, by order of the emperor, was whether Archbishop Flavian of Constantinople, in a synod held by him at Constantinople beginning November 8, 448 AD, had deposed and excommunicated Archimandrite Eutyches for refusing to admit two natures in Christ. Consequently, Flavian and six other bishops, who had been present at his synod, were not allowed to sit as judges in the council.

The brief of convocation by Theodosius II was read. Then the legates to the Pope of the Church of Rome explained that although it would have been contrary to custom for their Pope to be present in person, the Pope of the Church of Rome had sent a letter with the legates to be read at the council. In the letter, Leo I referred to his dogmatic letter to Flavian, the Tome of Leo, which he intended the council to accept as a ruling of faith.

However, the head notary declared that the emperor's letter should be read first, and Bishop Juvenal of Jerusalem commanded for the letter of the emperor to be presented. It ordered the presence at the council of the anti-Nestorian monk Barsumas. The question of faith was next on the proceedings. Pope (Patriarch of Alexandria) Dioscorus declared that it was not a matter for inquiry but that they had to consider only recent activity, as all present had acknowledged that they strictly adhered to the faith. He was acclaimed as a guardian and the Champion of Oriental Orthodoxy.

Eutyches was then introduced, and he declared that he held the Nicene Creed to which nothing could be added and from which nothing could be taken away. He claimed that he had been condemned by Flavian for a mere slip of the tongue even though he had declared that he held the faith of Nicaea and Ephesus, and he had appealed to the present council. His life had been put in danger and he now asked for judgment against the calumnies that had been brought against him.

Eutyches' accuser, Bishop Eusebius of Dorylaeum, was not allowed to be heard. The bishops agreed that the acts of the condemnation of Eutyches, at the 448 Constantinople council, should be read, but the legates of Rome asked that Leo's letter might be heard first.

Eutyches interrupted with the complaint that he did not trust the legates. They had been to dine with Flavian and had received much courtesy. Pope Dioscorus decided that the acts of the trial should have precedence and so the letter of Leo I was not read.

The acts were then read in full and also the account of an inquiry made on April 13, 449, into the allegation of Eutyches that the synodal acts had been incorrectly noted down, and then the account of another inquiry on April 27, 449, into the accusation made by Eutyches that Flavian had drawn up the sentence against him beforehand. While the trial was being related, cries arose from those present, declaring a belief in one nature, that two natures meant Nestorianism, and of "Burn Eusebius", and so forth. Flavian rose to complain that no opportunity was given to him to defend himself.

The *Acts of the Second Council of Ephesus* now give a list of 114 votes in the form of short speeches absolving Eutyches; three of his former judges also absolved him but by the emperor's order they were not allowed to vote. Lastly, Barsumas added his voice. A petition was read from Eutyches' monastery which had been excommunicated by Flavian. The monks asserted that they agreed in all things with Eutyches and with the Holy Fathers, and therefore the synod absolved them.

An extract from the acts of the first session of the First Council of Ephesus (431 AD) was read next. Many of the bishops and also the deacon Hilarus expressed their assent, some adding that nothing beyond that faith could be allowed.[*citation needed*]

Dioscorus then spoke, declaring that it followed that Flavian and Eusebius must be deposed, as if an anathema was passed unjustly, and he who passed it was to be judged by the same. Flavian and Eusebius had previously interposed an appeal to the Roman Pope and to a synod held by him.

Evidence given at the ecumenical Council of Chalcedon contradicts the account in the acts of the final scene of the session. It was reported at Chalcedon that secretaries of the bishops had been violently prevented from taking notes and it was declared that both Barsumas and Dioscorus struck Flavian. It was further reported that many bishops threw themselves on their knees to beg Dioscorus for mercy to Flavian and also Alexandrine Parabolani, that some signed a blank paper, and that others did not sign at all, the names being afterwards filled in of all who were actually present. The allegation of the blank papers has no proof at all. No one mentioned it for two years after the council (449-451), even after the passing of Emperor Theodosius II in 450 AD. In the opening of the first session of Chalcedon (451), many allegations against Dioscorus were listed; none of which was the blank papers.

The papal legate Hilarius uttered a single word in Latin, "Contradicitur", annulling the sentence in Leo's name. He then escaped with difficulty. Flavian and Eusebius of Dorylaeum appealed to the pope, and their letters, only lately discovered, were probably taken by Hilarus to Rome, which he reached by a devious route. In his letter to Pulcheria, Hilarus complained that Dioscorus had the roads and docks watched to prevent him from escaping Ephesus, so he had to find a way through the rough country.

It was said Dioscorus had previously gathered 1000 monks, telling them to wait outside the church during the council and to come when he called them. When Dioscorus began to read the sentence of condemnation against Flavian and Eusebius, some bishops went up to Dioscorus, asking him not to. Dioscorus called the guards, and the 1000 monks who were waiting outside with some soldiers came in and charged at Flavian and his followers. Flavian ran to the altar and grabbed hold of it for his life. The soldiers and monks forcefully took him from the altar beating him, kicking him and then whipping him. At Chalcedon, Bishop Diogenes of Cyzicus claimed that, while Flavian was being beaten, Barsumas exclaimed "Strike him dead!"

Flavian was deported into exile and died from his wounds a few days later in Lydia. His body was buried in obscurity. It was not until Flavius Marcianus called the Council of Chalcedon that Flavian's body was buried with honour in Constantinople. No more of the Acts were read at Chalcedon. However, Theodoret, Evagrius and others note that the Council voted to depose Theodoret himself, Domnus, and Ibas, Bishop of Edessa, Mesopotamia.

Subsequent sessions

The Syriac Acts take up the history where the Chalcedonian Acts break off. Of the first session, only the formal documents, letters of the emperor, and petitions of Eutyches are known to be preserved in Syriac though not within the same manuscript. It is evident that the non-Chalcedonian editor disapproved of the first session and purposely omitted it, not because of the high-handed proceedings of Dioscorus but because the later Miaphysites generally condemned Eutyches as a heretic and did not wish to remember his rehabilitation by a council that they considered to be ecumenical but the rest of Christianity scorned.

In the next session, according to the Syriac Acts, 113 people were present, including Barsumas. Nine new names appeared. The legates did not appear and were sent for, but only the notary Dulcitius could be found and he was unwell. It was an uncanonical charge against Dioscorus at the Council of Chalcedon that he "had held an (ecumenical) council without the Roman See, which was never allowed". That manifestly refers to his having continued at the council after the departure of the legates.

The first case was that of Ibas, Bishop of Edessa. The famous champion of the Antiochian party, he had been accused of crimes before by Domnus, Bishop of Antioch, and had been acquitted soon after Easter 448. His accusers had gone to Constantinople and been granted a new trial by the emperor. Bishops Photius of Tyre, Eustathius of Berytus and Uranius of Imeria were to examine the matter. The bishops met at Tyre, removed to Berytus, and returned to Tyre. Eventually, in February 449, they acquitted Ibas once more, together with his fellow accused: Daniel, Bishop of Harran and John of Theodosianopolis.

Cheroeas, Governor of Osrhoene l, was then ordered to go to Edessa to start a new inquiry. He was received by the people of Edessa on April 12, 449, with shouts in honour of the emperor, the governor, and the late Bishop Rabbula and against Nestorius and Ibas. The detailed summary of the reception takes up some two or three pages of the report that Cheroeas sent, along with two letters of his own, to Constantinople. The report gave details of the accusations against Ibas, and led to the emperor's ordering for a new bishop to be chosen. The report, which provided a history of the whole affair, was read at length by the order of Dioscorus. When the famous letter of Ibas to Bishop Maris was read, cries arose such as: "These things pollute our ears. ...Cyril is immortal. ...Let Ibas be burnt in the midst of the city of Antioch. ...Exile is of no use. Nestorius and Ibas should be burnt together!"

A final indictment was made in a speech by a priest of Edessa named Eulogius. Sentence was finally given against Ibas of deposition and excommunication, without any suggestion that he ought to be called to speak in his own defence.

In the next case, that of Ibas's nephew, Daniel of Harran, it was declared that they had clearly seen his guilt at Tyre and had acquitted him only because of his voluntary resignation. He was quickly deposed by the agreement of all the council. He, too, was not present and could not defend himself.

Next was the turn of Irenaeus, who, as an influential layman at the first Council of Ephesus, had been known to favour Nestorius. He had later become Bishop of Tyre, but the emperor had deposed him in 448 under charges of bigamy and blasphemy, and Photius had succeeded him. The synod ratified the deposition of Irenaeus.

Aquilinus, Bishop of Byblus, had been consecrated by Irenaeus and was his friend. He was the next to be deposed. Sophronius, Bishop of Tella, was a cousin of Ibas. He was accused of various forms of divination, including tyromancy (divination with cheese) and oomancy (divination with eggs). His case was reserved for the judgment of the new Bishop of Edessa.

Theodoret, an opponent of Dioscorus and a personal supporter of Nestorius, had been confined within his own diocese by the emperor in the preceding year to prevent him from preaching at Antioch. Theodoret had been a friend of Nestorius, and for more than three years (431-434 AD) he was a prominent antagonist of Cyril of Alexandria. However, despite the fact the two great theologians had come to terms and had celebrated their agreement, Theodoret was rejected with scorn. Theodosius had twice written to prevent him from coming to the council at Ephesus, and the council found a reason to depose him in his absence.

A monk from Antioch produced a volume of extracts from the works of Theodoret. First was read Theodoret's letter to the monks of the East (see Mansi, V, 1023), then some extracts from a lost *Apology for Diodorus and Theodore*. The very name of the work was sufficient, in the view of the council, to condemn Theodoret, and Dioscorus pronounced the sentence of deposition and excommunication.

When Theodoret, in his remote diocese, heard of the sentence pronounced in his absence, he at once appealed to Leo in a letter (Ep. cxiii). He also wrote to the legate Renatus (Ep. cxvi), being unaware that he was dead.

Reception

The council had a yet-bolder task before it. Domnus of Antioch is said to have agreed in the first session to the acquittal of Eutyches, but he refused, on the plea of sickness, to appear at the later sessions of the council. He seems to have been disgusted or terrified or both at the leadership of Pope Dioscorus. The council had sent him an account of their actions, and he replied, according to the Acts, that he agreed to all the sentences that had been given and regretted that his health made his attendance impossible.

Immediately after receiving this message, the council proceeded to hear a number of petitions from monks and priests against Domnus. Domnus was accused of friendship with Theodoret and Flavian, of Nestorianism, of altering the form of the Sacrament of Baptism, of intruding an immoral bishop into Emessa, of having been uncanonically appointed himself and of being an enemy of Dioscorus. Several pages of the manuscripts are missing, but it does not seem that the patriarch was asked to appear or given a chance to defend himself. The bishops shouted that he was worse than Ibas. He was deposed by a vote of the council, and with that final act, the Acts come to an end.

The council wrote the customary letter to the emperor (see Perry, trans., p. 431), who confirmed it with his own letter (Mansi, VII, 495, and Perry, p. 364). Dioscorus sent an encyclical to the bishops of the East with a form of adhesion to the council that they were to sign (Perry, p. 375). He also went to Constantinople and appointed his secretary Anatolius as bishop of that see.

Juvenal of Jerusalem was loyal to Dioscorus. He had deposed the Patriarchs of Antioch and Constantinople, but one powerful adversary yet remained. He halted at Nicaea and with ten bishops (probably the same ten Egyptian metropolitans whom he had brought to Ephesus) "in addition to all his other crimes he extended his madness against him who had been entrusted with the guardianship of the Vine by the Saviour", in the words of the bishops at Chalcedon, "and excommunicated the Pope himself".

Meanwhile, Leo I had received the appeals of Theodoret and Flavian (of whose death he was unaware) and had written to them and to the Emperor and Empress, nullifying all of the Acts of the council. He eventually excommunicated all who had taken part in it and absolved all whom it had condemned (including Theodoret), with the exception of Domnus of Antioch, who seems to have had no wish to resume his see and retired into the monastic life that he had left many years earlier with regret.

The Council of Chalcedon gave rise to what has been called the Monophysite Schism between those who accepted the Council of Chalcedon and those who rejected it: many Byzantine emperors over the next several hundred years attempted to reconcile the opposed parties, in the process giving rise to several other schisms and teachings later condemned as heresy, such as monoenergism and monotheletism, which were devised as attempted compromises between the Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian parties (cf. the *Henotikon* and the Three Chapters – the latter itself leading to another schism lasting over a century, the Schism of the Three Chapters).

DEATH AND VENERATION

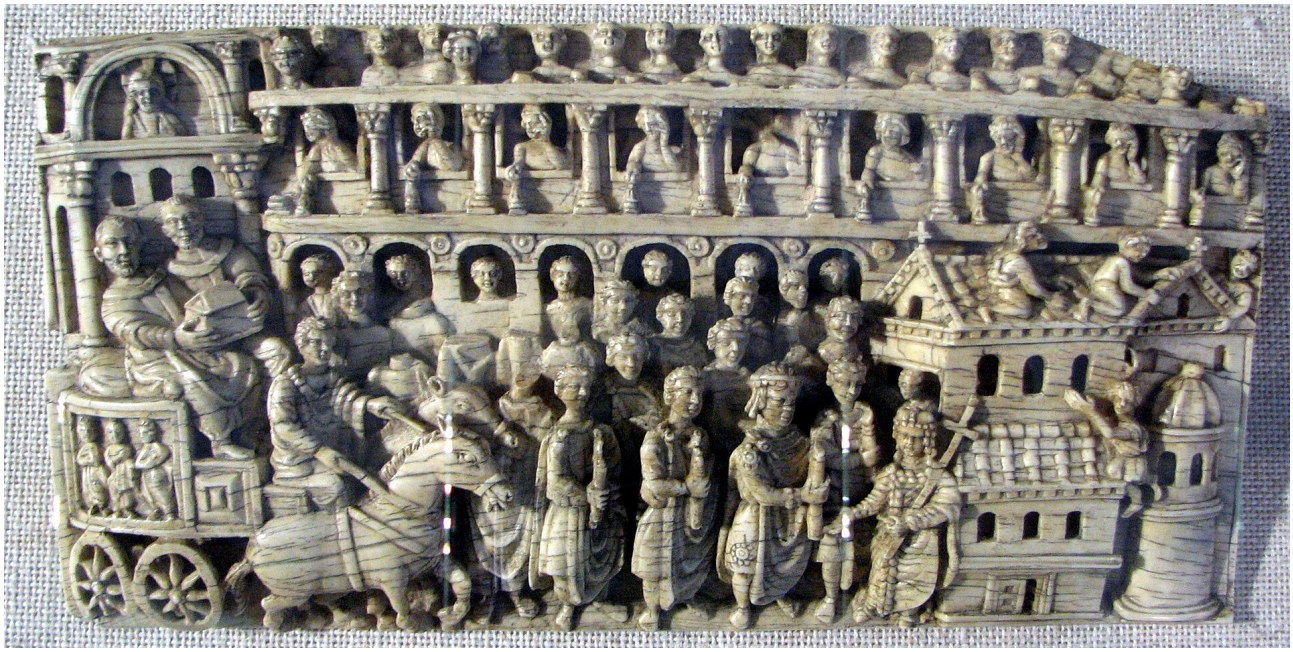
Pulcheria died in 453, but the specific day is unknown. She probably died in Constantinople. Her death shocked the people of Constantinople, since she had formed a bond with the city's inhabitants. In her will, she distributed her remaining wealth to the poor.

After her death, she was declared a saint by the church, which is today the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox churches.

IN ART

Pulcheria brought many holy relics to churches in Constantinople. The Trier Adventus Ivory, now housed in the treasury of Trier Cathedral, Germany, has been interpreted as depicting the installation of one of these relics. Historian Kenneth Holum describes the Ivory thus: "On the Ivory Theodosius wears distinctive costume and inclines slightly forward, but essentially he remains only part of the cortege and thus of the ceremonial context. The direction of the wagon's movement inexorably toward the scene at the right, toward the diminutive woman clothed in the rich costume of an Augusta … in it she deposited the holy relics."

However, this interpretation is disputed, and another opinion is that the ivory shows the later Empress Irene of the eighth century, who sponsored renovation of the church.



The Trier Ivory, representing a procession with royal figures theorized to depict Theodosius II and Pulcheria